1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

CONCLUSION

In treating of the historical background of the Comanche tribe the evidence for a recent Shoshonean derivation of the Comanches has been indicated. In the years since the time of the separation from other Shoshoneans, Comanche culture had undergone adaptive modifications to such an extent that Clark Wissler had dubbed the Comanches a "typical Plains Indian tribe."[1] If one views only the material culture of the tribe, this is true, for in their buffalo economy and nomadic life with the use of the horse for transportation, the Comanches were as any other Plains tribe. In their basic militarism they were conspicuously Plains, though they had not gone far enough to adopt a well-developed system of military societies (in which they are decidedly non-typical). Loose political organization is typical of the Plains area; yet the Comanches were more unpolitical than most. In religion the Comanches shared only to a very slight degree the colorful group ceremonialism of the Plains tribes, while the individual guardian spirit complex is as fully Shoshonean as it is Plains. It is not understatement to say that the Comanches represented Plains culture in its rudest form and that where it was most rude it was most Shoshonean.

Something of the historical trend of Comanche culture may be revealed by reference to the Shoshone base from which nineteenth century Comanche society had grown. This will be attempted for Shoshone-Comanche politico-legal practices.

Without expecting an absolute correlation of Comanche history to a linear trend, an approximation of the levels of Comanche development can be reasonably derived from the comparative presentation of the pertinent facts from the Western Shoshone, the Northern Shoshone, the Wind River Shoshone and the Comanche. Taken in order, the geographical spacing of the peoples mentioned is from the heart of the Basin-Plateau area towards and into the Plains. Culturally, the movement is from archaic Shoshone (Western) to Shoshone modified by Plains influence (Northern) to Plains with heavy Shoshone vestiges (Wind River) to "typical" Plains with submerged Shoshone vestiges (Comanche). In the same direction the trend has been specifically from small particularistic local groups founded on the bilateral family principle over to large, permanently organized bands within which bilateral family organization is present but unimportant; from an absence of "chiefs" over to institutionalized band peace chiefs. In military activity with all its implications the trend was from complete unwarlikeness over to exuberant militarism. In law the movement is seen to have

[1] Clark Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains* (New York, 1927), p. 13.

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178 181 171 been from a neutral condition without institutionalized legal forms to the establishment of such mechanisms as have been described for the Comanche. Comanche culture underwent dynamic development in a relatively short span of time, developing political and legal institutions of functional importance where scarcely any had existed before.

A tabular synopsis of the facts will make this clear.[1] See pp. 131–134.

The causal factor of greatest importance in the metamorphosis of the eastern Shoshone groups was the adaptation of social life to the horse complex. This provided a widened hunting range and the procurement of buffalo, with the result that larger aggregations of population could be supported in integrated units. The result was the band. Raids and military pressure from the plains provided example and defensive motivation for the simulation of the Plains war complex. Only the Comanches wholly succeeded in this. The Basin Shoshone suffered a defeatist psychology; they are sincerely grateful to the *Pax Americana*. To them personal bravery status was unimportant and there was no compulsion for a wronged party to save his face by demanding or taking restitution. Not so the Comanches, to whom ego satisfaction in competitive bravery struggles had become all-important. The military complex so colored all of tribal values that every man responded to the stimulus when wronged. From one point of view Comanche law was a struggle for preservation of status between individual males. Yet it was more than that, for in the institution of the champion-at-law, based though it is on the intermediary's desire to hold high his personal prestige, the Comanches had leaped ahead in a striving for an equitable defense weapon for the aggrieved weakling. This is justice.

[1] Data for the Western Shoshone are derived from the following sources: Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938); *Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 33, 1933), pp. 230–250; *Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshone* (American Anthropologist, vol. 39, 1937), pp. 625–634; Willard Park, *Shamanism in Western North America* (Evanston, 1938); and Others, *Tribal Distribution in the Great Basin* (American Anthropologist, vol. 40, 1938), pp. 622–628; Isabel T. Kelley, *Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 31, 1932), pp. 67–210; R. H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, Vol. 20, 1924), pp. 187–314; Jack Harris, unpublished data on the White Knife Shoshones; M. K. Opler, unpublished data on the Southern Utes, Data for the Northern Shoshone are from the field investigations of the author and F. Gore Hoebel, summarized in Appendix A of this memoir. Also, R. H. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. 2, 1909), pp. 169–306; E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hɨkandika Shoshone Relationship Systems* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), pp. 440–457; *The Sun Dance of the Hɨkandika Shoshone* (American Anthropologist, vol. 37, 1935), pp. 570–581; *Bands and Distributions of the Eastern Shoshone* (with Verne Ray and Others, in *Tribal Distribution in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions*, [American Anthropologist, vol. 40, 1938], pp. 384–415). Data on the Wind River Shoshone are from unpublished materials generously supplied by D. B. Shimkin.

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	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
I. Communal Organization and Practices				
Bilateral family as preponderant local group.	Regular.	Occasional.	Rare.	Rare.
Cohesive and definite band organization.	Mostly limited to winter villages.	Regular, for the most part.	General.	Ubiquitous.
Tribal organization.	None.	None.	?	Notable consciousness of tribal identity; but no formal tribal organization.
Civil leadership.	Family headman, village headman.	Band peace chief, some with camp crier; family headman for small groups; no juridical authority.	?	Band peace chiefs with camp criers; no juridical authority.
Warfare.	Rare; no institutionalized military pattern.	Unsuccessful simulation of Plains war complex; war leaders; coup and scalp.	Plains type warfare with bravery status; coup and scalp.	Plains military ideal dominant; war chiefs; coup and scalp; bravery status for males.
Horses.	None.	Few.	Numerous.	Multitudinous.

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	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
Communal hunts.	Occasional ritual drives for antelope and rabbits.	Buffalo hunts on the plains with support of allies.	Annual buffalo hunts.	Annual buffalo hunts.
Hunt police.	No police; direction by shaman.	Special police organized for the occasion.	Organized police, becoming permanent in two military fraternities.	No police.
II. Offenses with "legal" sanctions.				
Public delicts, "crimes."	None (?).	1) Cannibalism. 2) Violation of the rules of the communal hunt.	Violation of the rules of the communal hunt.	Excessive sorcery.
Private delicts, "wrongs."	1) Abduction of females. 2) Homicide (?).	1) Gang rape. 2) Adultery. 3) Wife abduction. 4) Homicide.	1) Adultery. 2) Wife absconding. 3) Wife abduction. 4) Homicide (?).	1) Adultery. 2) Wife absconding. 3) Violation of levirate. 4) Sorcery. 5) Killing a favorite horse. 6) Homicide.
III. Procedure and Sanctions in the Law-ways.				
In abduction and gang rape.	Offender runs the gauntlet; or, mass brawls.	Apparently, no institutionalized reactions.	—	—

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
In adultery.	?	Either, no action against the male; or else, attempted homicidal attack. Mutilation of the wife by the husband.	Occasional attempt to kill the male offender by sorcery, sometimes no action attempted, other times horses of male offender are killed or mutilated. Female may sometimes be killed or mutilated.	Restituitive damages collected from male offender. Female regularly mutilated, sometimes killed by the husband. "Third degree" and "sun-killing" used to obtain confession.
In wife absconding.	?	Either, no action; or else, attempted homicidal attack on the male offender, the female, or both.	Sometimes no action, otherwise attempt on life of male offender through sorcery or homicidal assault. Occasionally, restituitive damages received in settlement (the wife may be either recovered or released in this event). There is no predictability as to which of the above courses will be followed.	Restituitive damages recovered from male offender; wife may be recovered or released by husband; or, horses of the male offender may be killed or mutilated. Husband may kill or mutilate his wife if he fails to release her.

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	Western Shoshone	*Bannock Creek Shoshone*	*Wind River Shoshone*	*Comanche*
In sorcery.	?	No sorcery (?).	Counter sorcery.	Aggrieved resorts to counter magic through his own powers or those of a hired shaman. Or, relatives threaten physical violence to the sorcerer, in which case he may resort to the conditional curse.
In killing of a favorite horse.	—	?	?	Probable retaliation on horses of offender. Possible mutilation of sister of offender, or homicidal attack on offender.
In homicide.	Retaliation uncertain.	Retaliation uncertain.	Probable retaliation, no continuing feud.	Retaliation on killer; no feud.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

nomadic habits of the tribe and their loose political organization made it impossible for the honest Indians to control their less scrupulous brethren and the reputation of all suffered because of the acts of a few. Furthermore, after about the middle of the nineteenth century it was almost impossible for the plains Indians to live by honest means. The inroads of whites and eastern Indians resulted in the killing off of their game so that the nomadic savages had to either steal or starve. Naturally they chose to steal. Also, the Anglo-American frontiersman had little regard for the Indians' rights and a thousand acts of injustice prompted the most horrible retaliation on the part of the savages.

The Comanches loved tobacco, but eschewed liquor until the last days of the pre-reservation period. However, even in this respect they gradually yielded to the demoralizing influence of the stronger race and drunkenness was occasionally observed. The fascination which the vices of the whites had for the savages is illustrated by an anecdote Smithwick gives in his memoirs. With chief Muguara (who was later slain in the Council House fight at San Antonio) Smithwick had visited Bastrop and the two were about to return to the Comanche village. "Juaqua," said the old chief, addressing Smithwick by his Comanche name, "hadn't we better get a bottle of fool's water? We might meet hostile Indians on the road and it would make us brave."[33]

33. The Evolution of a State, 179.

[pp 74-end not processed]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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121 a case study of Comanche and a broader excursion into method.

128 While the acculturation vocabulary that was collected is extensive, additional textual materials and examples of day to day speech behavior collected from a representative range of unilingual and bilingual speakers would have been invaluable in establishing usages and investigating the ramifying effects of contact on Comanche. A further limitation is felt in the lack of a comprehensive treatment of Comanche grammar. If such were available, the analysis would have gained a greater measure of incisiveness.

177 2. Since their emergence and secession from an early Plateau Shoshone tradition,[10] 178 the Comanche have undergone a 250 year 175 career of marked culture change and contact.[11] The earliest period was essentially one of cultural adjustment to a new style of life made possible by the acquisition of the horse, and culminated in the participation of the Comanche in the brief though brilliant florescence of Plains culture[12] that reached its climax in the decades spanning the year 177 1800. Thereafter the story is one of the increasing pressure of westwarding Americans

[10] For a description of Basin-Plateau Shoshone culture see Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120 (1938); also Culture Element Distributions: XIII, Nevada Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 4.2 (University of California, 1941), and Culture Element Distributions XXIII, Northern and Gosiute Shoshone, Anthropological Records, 8:2, (University of California, 1943).

[113] [11] The principle references for this chapter are Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, Univ. of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Okla., 1931); James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE (Washington, D. C., 1898); R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement (Glendale, Calif., 1933); and A. B. Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers (Norman, Okla., 1932), also Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[113] [12] Comanche Plains culture is described by Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel in The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains (Norman,

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
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177 and Texans pushing from the south until the Comanche were contained on the Fort Sill Reservation in 1875. The submersion of the Comanche by White culture was well under way by the latter date and progressed at an ever accelerating tempo.

175 The Comanche first loomed upon the horizon of the Spanish Southwest shortly after the turn of the eighteenth century. Their presence in New Mexico was definitely [231] noted in 1705. They were already horse Indians at this date, having gotten the horse no later than 1690–1700.[13] As early as 175 1713[14] the Comanche were in conflict with 648 both the Spanish and the more peaceable 721 Indian tribes of the region and had embarked upon their historic role of marauders and horse thieves, striking always to the southwest. Although the province of New Mexico received the brunt of their attack, by 1758 they had destroyed a presidio in Texas and by 1776 they were crossing the Rio Grande to attack the Lipan as well as 175 the Spanish settlements. De Croix, a 648 Spanish general, describes the situation in his General Report of 1781 in the following terms:[15]

> [721] "But these injuries are not comparable to those which the Comanche inflict. The province is overrun with these Indians, now alone, or as allies of the Nations of the North; at the moment not a foot of land is free from hostility. Its fruits of the field are destroyed, cattle ranches and farms abandoned, and the settlers in terror are fleeing to the settlements, nor do they venture to leave their neighborhood without a troop escort."

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[113] [175] [178] Okla., 1932). See also Ralph Linton in Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society (Columbia University Press, New York 1945), and E. A. Hoebel, The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians, Memoirs, AAA No. 54 (1940).

[113] [13] F. Haines, The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians, AA 40.435 (1938).

[113] [14] D. B. Shimkin, Shoshone-Comanche Origin and Migrations, Proc., Sixth Pacific Science Congress, Vol. IV: 17-25, p. 21 (1939).

[15] A. B. Thomas, Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain 1776-1783, p. 77 (Norman, Okla., 1941).

[p. 142-B]

agencies along the frontier, and to furnish blacksmiths to repair the Indians' arms and utensils.

[65] The government early adopted the policy of passing out gifts, later institutionalized as annuities, at tribal gatherings when treaties were made in futile attempts to stem the harrowing raids of the Comanche and thus pave the way for White encroachment. The following is a representative list of goods distributed at a council in 1845:[22]

> 21 silk handkerchiefs, 3 cotton handkerchiefs, 4 cotton shawls, 8 pieces blue prints, 40½ yards blue and red strouding, 7½ pieces blue drill, 75 pounds brass wire, 5 dozen tin pans, 13 tin buckets, 12 pounds vermilion, 12 dozen butcher knives, 1½ dozen cocoa handles, 5 dozen horn combs, 8 dozen ivory combs, 2½ dozen files, 7½ M. brass tacks, 2 pounds linen thread, 1½ dozen fire steels, 1½ M. needles, 1½ dozen looking glasses, 4½ pounds indigo and verdigris, 2½ dozen squaw hatchets, 4 dozen tin cups, 1½ dozen pair red blankets, 7½ dozen pair white blankets, 42 small bars lead, 12 large bars lead, 2 pieces unbleached domestic, 35 pounds powder.

Due both to impoverishment caused by the rapidly dwindling buffalo herds and to the pressure of White settlers, the Comanche became increasingly restive. Raiding, fighting with the United States Army and Texas volunteers, and the constant making and breaking of treaties characterized the years up to 1875 when the Comanche were finally rounded up and confined to the Fort Sill Reservation along with the Wichita, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache. Typical of the many treaties of the time was the one made at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in 1867 when the government promised rations, an agency with a warehouse and a resident agent, physician, teacher, carpenter, blacksmith, farmer, miller, and engineer as employees. Through the years 1854–1859 many of the Texas Comanche had already been placed on a reservation where an unsuccessful attempt at farming and a settled life was made.

[22] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 136 (Glendale, Calif., 1933).

657 The early reservation days were largely times of turmoil and discontent. Rations were often scant and inferior, schools and hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
648 grazed their stock on reservation lands without payment or permission, and altercations between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed that each family should be located on a piece of land on which they were to remain, and no Indian was allowed to leave the reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long before the Territory was opened to the flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx of prospectors, squatters, farmers, missionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers, adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the Indians were said to have disliked them so much that the idea had to be given up.
241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men for grazing privileges, was instituted in 1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganised in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint delegations of reservation Indians went to Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States government and the Apache, Kiowa, and
178 Comanche Indians marked the end of reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
423 their claims to the land formerly known as Indian Territory except one tract called "the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

and child was allotted 160 acres with sections set aside for schools and public institutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness during the trust period. Thus the Comanche became citizens under the allotment system and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since these allotments were widely scattered and interspersed with White farms, the development of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

In summary, the history of Comanche contacts with Western culture shows an early period of vacillating hostile and friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the middle of the nineteenth century. That date marked the end of Comanche tribal autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[13] and further delineated by Kroeber,[14] Sapir,[15] and Whorf.[16] Sapir

[13] Johann C. Buschmann, Spuren der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[14] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.65-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americana, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[15] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JEAP, n.s., 10. 379-425; Part II, AA 17.98-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JEAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were deroga-
tory or had some sexual or obscene reference.

553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out
[178] by fasting and dreaming in secluded places. This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
[161] one may trace, from the older through the younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and
657 children by count, as early as 1875, the first formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

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551 (Pierce?), Shannon B., Simon, Woodrow Wilson, Wyvale. Feminine names offer the following: Audrea, Balinda Mary, Cleo Marcelle, Dixie Diane, Ernestine Marie, Freddie Joe, Garnet, Hattie, Laurania Peral, Leila Viletta, Luvenia Yvonne, Mandy Louise, Marilyn Panzie, Marrel F., Mollie, Sybil, Nettie Belle, Philomena Marian, Prudence, Ruby, Sharon Vivonne, Sonia Youmaine, Tinnie, Udee, Una, Winona and Zelia.

551 177 Thus, we have traced the acculturation of one aspect of Comanche culture, personal names, from the old pattern described above to the whole-hearted adoption of the local Southern White naming patterns. There is 551 178 little left of the old, except perhaps in the great individuation of given names. The actual circumstances of the giving of first names may show a few faint traces of the old customs, but even that is doubtful. The 551 177 degree of acceptance of the new naming practices may be taken as a rough index of the participation of the Comanche in the culture of the Whites. The older, relatively 551 177 less acculturated Comanche still bear individual names, while the younger generations 178 have adopted the White pattern to the extent that the old way has entirely yielded place to the new.

128 7.0. Thus far the major portion of this paper has been devoted to the first of two objectives—a description of the effects of culture contact on the Comanche language, chiefly the lexicon. The balance of the paper will be addressed to the second objective, namely, an attempt to demonstrate the utility of these linguistic data for the student of acculturation and culture change. Some general observations based on an appraisal of the total acculturation vocabulary will first be given. There will then follow a set of postulates on language with special reference to culture change and a series of propo-

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given name is not infrequent in Oklahoma, but this is the only case for the Comanche.

[p. 251-A]

17: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1965 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE BABY LANGUAGE

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The Comanche language[1] reveals an unusually rich and formalized vocabulary of special baby words which were used in teaching the child to speak. Their use began when the child was old enough to understand, at about one year according to informants, and dropped off as the child matured and learned the normal, adult locutions at the age of 3 to 4. If a child persisted in using these words after the age of 5 or so, it would be laughed at and ridiculed for its babyish ways. Today English holds sway and these baby words no longer function actively, although children in those families or households where there are older persons who speak only Comanche may have some knowledge of them. So of necessity these data were recorded from the lips of adult speakers, most of whom, however, maintain a lively memory of the baby forms.

The following list was checked with eight informants and is probably exhaustive. Where known, the adult form or derivation is given in brackets after the translation of the baby word or words.

ʔáʔh, ʔáx, ʔáʔhA *something nasty or dirty; feces, urine, penis, a smell; warning to get away from something dirty; I have wet, dirtied myself; command for baby to defecate.*

ʔaʔhá·ʔ *no good!* (said to baby).

The next two forms are used in speaking to and by older children. They are derived from the baby words, but with regular verbal suffixes.

ʔáʔhi·kwhA *go off and defecate!*

ʔáʔhI, ʔáʔhinʔ *I have dirtied myself.*

ʔaná·, ʔanó· *it hurts!* (pointing to place); *sore place, cut; command to child to get away from thing or place where it might get hurt.*

[1] The material for this paper was gathered on a field trip sponsored by Columbia University to the Comanche Indians living near Indiahoma, Oklahoma during the summer of 1940.

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

fore Fort Sill was founded in 1869. In fact Catlin, along with Dodge and a regiment of U. S. Dragoons, visited one of their large camps just a few miles from the Jared site in 1834 (Catlin 1841:61ff.). From these explorers and others who passed through their territory, and from their own trading and raiding expeditions, the Comanches received articles of white manufacture.

Fort Sill was established as a base of operations for subduing the Southern Plains Indians, and the U. S. Army made efforts to induce the Indians to settle permanently near the post. This program was achieved in part by giving food, clothing, and supplies to the Indians. By 1875 the Comanches were settled in the area and roamed no more except for a few small raids that continued until 1878.

The first Comanche cemetery was not established until 1889 or 1890 at Fort Sill (Gillett Griswold, personal communication), and with the exception of the post's cemetery where a few Indian Scouts were buried, and several mission cemeteries, this was the first established Comanche burial ground. Other Comanche cemeteries were opened shortly thereafter, and most burials were made in cemeteries after the early 1890's.

The literary and historic records help substantiate the identification of the Jared site as a Comancha burial probably dating after 1869 and before 1890 with the vague possibility of its being a Cheyenne burial. Kiowa and Comanche informants support this conclusion. No other groups in the area have been reported to have buried their dead in the manner noted at the Jared site.

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Dodge, R. I.
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[p.324-B]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874.

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt and to raid there was no means by which the men could attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen. Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medicine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying themselves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities.

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (5 Vols.; Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 Quaker Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived on July 1, 1869, and
241 hoped to continue Hazen's humble but hopeful start. He offered an annual prize of five hundred dollars to be divided among the ten Indians producing the best crops. The Penatekas, who had learned something of farming through their contact with the whites in Texas and the agricultural tribes, raised some corn and vegetables. As for the other
[462] Comanches, it was a difficult beginning. The men, unaccustomed to such labor, left the work to the women. They could not plow a straight furrow. They were offended at the suggestion that they thin corn which they had taken the trouble to cultivate. After eating green watermelons and getting the "devil inside my belly," they had even less enthusiasm for farming.[18] Native culture patterns conflicted with the new.[19] Fifteen hundred acres were prepared for cultivation in 1870, but the results were almost as
[178] disappointing. It was apparent that the transition to an agricultural economy was to be a slow and painful process.

657 Colonel R. S. MacKenzie rightly believed it best to make
231 stockmen of the nomadic hunters he had subdued in 1874,
236 but he made a serious mistake when he chose sheep for them. He sold the horses which he had taken in his campaign against them in 1874, and with the proceeds purchased the next year 3,500 thoroughbred sheep and goats in New Mexico. These animals, he reasoned, would serve the triple purpose of supplying cash from the sale of wool and surplus animals, meat for food, and wool for blankets and clothing.

But MacKenzie had not taken all the factors into consideration. Many of the animals perished on the long drive to the reservation and others arrived in very poor condition. On issue day the Indians, dressed in their finest, gathered at the spot where Fort Sill Indian School now stands, and

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[113] 18. Agent Lawrie Tatum, Report, August 12, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 388. Tatum to the Quaker Commissioner, July, 1870 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[821] 19. A statement by Chewing Elk, October 6, 1873, illustrates this point. "Mr. Tatum gave me a piece of land, but the first night I stopped there a big thunderstorm came right over the house [tipi]. I thought this was bad medicine and lit out and have never been there since." Quoted by W. S. Nye, Carbine and Lance, the Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman, 1937), 222; also see, Hunt, Annual Report, 1873, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 60.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The govern ent provided the stim-
797 ulus when it inaugurated in 1889 the policy of contracting
871 with religious denominations to operate schools for Indian
[657] children on the reservation. Each contracting denomination organized one or more churches and carried on missionary work in connection with its school. The Reverend S. V. Faith of the Northern Presbyterian Church built a church south of the Washita near his school, and the Catholics op-
797 erated a mission in connection with St. Patrick's School. The Dutch Reformed Church in 1890 built a mission just north of Medicine Bluff. It was in charge of the Reverend Frank Wright. The Baptist and Mennonite sects shortly afterwards entered the field. Between 1888 and 1907, Protestant denominations had fifteen stations and the Catholic one. The Mennonite Church was working exclusively among the Comanches during the time; the Baptist and the Reformed Presbyterian each had one station in Comanche territory. The Baptist with seven stations on the reservation was the most active, but by 1930 the Methodist had taken the lead.

797 For a long time the Comanches and the Kiowas were not
178 interested in the missionaries. They loved their traditional
[756] life, and the medicine men played on their superstitions.
[191] Language was a barrier. The following amusing incident
797 illustrates a problem. A missionary by the name of Gassoway was preaching to a group of Comanches in a trader's vacant store on Cache Creek. The Comanches had come out of curiosity to hear Gassoway's first sermon, and were genuinely dismayed to hear him shout and to see him shake his fist. In a few minutes they arose and solemnly filed out of the building. "He is mad at us," they said. Then Gassoway got Horace Jones to interpret for him. All went well until Gassoway began the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread." He got no further. When Jones repeated the words, the Comanches, thinking they were to get something to eat, stood up and shouted in glee: "Oh, ho!" Jones found it difficult to quiet them this time."[50]

797 It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the Christian
178 missionaries among the Comanches. The missionaries did

50. Nye, *op. cit.*, 341-342, from reminiscences of W. H. Quinette.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

exert a powerful cultural influence at a time when the Comanches were groping for new behavior patterns. They cooperated with the Indian Office and other agencies in an effort to improve health, education, home life, social relations, and economic conditions of the Indians. As a result, most Comanches today are Protestants.

As a part of its functions, the Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises a health program. Primarily, its program is both remedial and preventive. The Kiowa-Comanche hospital is located adjacent to Fort Sill Indian School, two miles north of Lawton. The original hospital was built in 1917, but a new wing was completed in 1929 and a tubercular ward was added in 1936. Both additions are fireproof and modern in every respect. The hospital with a capacity of 121 beds in 1945 had never found it necessary to turn away any patients for lack of facilities or trained personnel, according to officials. Some 1993 patients, of whom 798 were Comanches, were admitted to the hospital in 1930.[51]

Since it is neither convenient nor possible for all the people to go to the hospital each time medical service is needed, a clinic is maintained at the Agency headquarters at Anadarko. Three other stations, each with a full-time nurse, and a full-time traveling nurse assist in looking after the health of the Indians. The state health service, with a unit in each county, cooperate with the agency health service. The annual cost of the program during the early 1940's was approximately $190,000, largely derived from tribal funds. Patients unable to pay are not charged for service; the others normally pay a moderate fee.[52]

The health program has brought about a progressive improvement in the health and in health standards of the Comanches and the Kiowas. In addition to remedial and preventive value, the program has had far-reaching cultural significance. Like the Extension Service, the Christian missionaries, and the schools, it, too, is helping the Indians to

51. Bustin, *op. cit.*, sec. III, 6-7.
52. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. I, 9, pt. II, 24.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

make the cultural transition they have been called upon to accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts. Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physician at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

The Comanches are still confronted with many sociological and psychological problems of adjustment. They have not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of generosity does not fit well in American society for it is an impediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorification of the individual. This character trait was a regular feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function, and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were proud of their young warriors and showered them with honors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business-like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of it than they like. This characteristic of the people is apparent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a commercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleasure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

178 They are working for a better tomorrow, reminding themselves as they build that "Wise is the Indian who cherishes his cultural heritage, and wise is he who adopts the best of the white man's, but better yet, is he who is wise enough to do both."[53] Within three-quarters of a century they have passed from the stone age to modern civilization. To some tribes the attempt to make the transition brought extinction; to others it brought a miserable existence on the fringe of civilization. There is no longer an attitude of despair among the Comanches. With the same persistence and determination which characterized their resistance to encroachment on their hunting grounds, they are adjusting themselves to live successfully in the new era. Verily, the Comanches have come a long way on the white man's road.

53. "A History of Riverside School" is staged each year by the students of that school. During the performance an actor speaks these words.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche 06
Texas

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727 [ca. 1818]

complicated suffering. The well known shout "come to the dance," resounds through the camp, and the welkin rings with the screams and yells of infuriate females, trooping impetuous to the scene of torment. The wretched captive, bearing a staff on which are pendent, the scalps of his friends and companions, it may be, of his father and brethren who were slain in the fury of the recent combat, is hurried to the appointed spot, where the frantic crowd assemble around him, impatient to begin their orgies. Faint with fear and trembling, he is hurled to the centre, while the shouting throng gather around in tumultuous circles, and assail him with clubs, and thongs, and knives, and javelins, and firebrands, in unmeasured and reckless fury, compelling him the while, to unite his voice with the hellish choir, to dance and sing, and wave the standard, reeking with the gory scalps of his kindred, until he sinks to the ground, borne down with fatigue and excess of torment. He is then again staked-out on the earth, to await the diversions of the morrow, and the morrow—when similar scenes are re-acted upon him. If haply, he survives this severe initiation, he is afterwards exempt from corporal punishment, is considered a member, *sub conditionis*, of their society, and is attached as a slave to the family of the warrior who captured him, where he is generally treated with humanity. The men object to the abolition of this dreadful custom of surrendering their prisoners, on account of its antiquity, and the gratification it affords the squaws; but they will sometimes interfere to repress excessive barbarities.

[567]

[178]

When they capture boys and girls, as they often do in their excursions to the Spanish provinces, they usually treat them with much lenity and kindness, and retain them in a kind of filial servitude, very little inferior to the condition of native children. It is singular with what facility these ill-fated youths will assimilate themselves to the habits of their new associates. Spanish boys from 10 to 15 years old will become so reconciled to their captivity in a few weeks after their introduction to this wild and uncultured society, as to be distinguishable only by the slight variations of nature, from their savage companions, and will generally out-

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

States Government failed to take into consideration many difficulties peculiar to the Texas Indian situation as well as the inherent characteristics of the plains tribes not found in the Indians of other regions.

Establishing the Reservation

The question of a permanent home for the Indians of Texas was often raised during the decade following annexation; but the problem was difficult to solve, especially since the state maintained that neither the Indians nor the United States had any property rights in the Texas public domain. Under the terms of annexation the state had shifted to the Federal Government the responsibility of managing the Indians but had retained her public lands. Thus, the savages were regarded as tenants at will and in its effort to keep them pacified the United States Indian service had to contend with the steady encroachment of the settlers.

Naturally the misery and poverty of the savages increased from year to year and the problem of restraining them grew proportionately greater. The following words are given as those of Ka-tem-e-see, a Southern Comanche chief:

> Over this vast country, where for centuries our ancesters roamed in undisputed possession, free and happy, what have we left? The game, our main dependence, is killed and driven off, and we are forced into the most sterile and barren portions of it to starve. We see nothing but extermination left us, and we await the result with stolid indifference. Give us a country we can call our own, where we may bury our people in quiet.[2]

East of the Comanches, along the valleys of the upper Brazos and Trinity rivers, were Caddo, Anadarko, Kichai, Haini, Tawakoni and other Indians whose condition was quite as desperate as that of the Comanches. Finally after one or more "location" bills had failed, the Legislature of Texas by an act of February 6, 1854, authorized the Federal Government to select not more than twelve leagues of land to be used for Indian reservations.[3] Captain Ran-

2. Horace Capron, United States Indian Agent in Texas, to Howard, September 20, 1858. Ms., in the University of Texas Library, photostat copies of papers in the United States Indian Office.

3. H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, III, 1498-1496.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date: 1929 NO6 Com che NO6
(1854-1859) Te s

that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organization. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially to the many difficulties the United States was destined to encounter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civilization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commission corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to establish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But notwithstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want anything more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 264. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 180.

5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

6. Hill to Neighbors, August 21, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 402.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

ing domains at the expense of some of their neighbors. The British companies encouraged their tribes to drive off the French-allied tribes, and they gave them guns wherewith to do it. The French responded in kind, and the tribes of either party used their new weapons to drive the unarmed tribes on the western frontier before them. Thus with pressure behind them and an attractive lure before them, a number of the tribes of the Mississippi Valley sought sanctuary and prosperity in the relatively unpopulated lands of the West. The Comanches were among them.

. . .

The Comanches . . . appear in the sixteenth century to have occupied the country that lay around the headwaters of the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers. They were an eastern branch of the far-flung Shoshonean group of tribes and at that time it is unlikely that they would have been distinguishable from other eastern Shoshoneans. But in the eighteenth century the Comanches moved down into the southern Plains, while the Shoshones were driven back over the Rocky Mountains by invaders from the east. The Comanches became a discrete entity and one of the first, if not the first, of the Plains tribes to acquire horses.[1]

. . .

The Comanche cultural background was that of the so-called "Digger Indians" of the Great Basin. In the tradition of these tribes there was no great social organization. People moved and lived in small isolated family bands. Each was autonomous and economically self-sufficient on a low subsistence level. Religion was vaguely defined and almost wholly devoid of ceremonial structure. Arts were thin, and life offered little of richer satisfactions. War was a thing to be avoided, for the Basin Shoshoneans had no military organization and were wholly lacking in fighting prowess.[2]

In the Plains the Comanches never wholly shed this heritage, but in the new setting they wrought some mighty changes in their way of life. With adequate food resources and the horse they were able to prosper in numbers and so to enlarge the size of their bands. Yet they never forsook band autonomy for tribal government. Religion remained to the very end almost wholly an individual enterprise with few group rituals and no tribal ceremonials.

It was in warring and raiding that the great transformation took place.

[1] Ernest Wallace and E. A. Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman, 1952) pp. 3–16.

[2] J. H. Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Socio-political Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938).

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks.

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms:

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.

Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women.

Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men.

Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers.

Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother.

Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior.

Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male.

Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment.

Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities.

Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable.

Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.

Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities.

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants,

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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C K 123 personally but not the society. As the job takes more and more time it also begins to cut into my field time to a rather dangerous extent. So what started out as seemingly an asset has rapidly become the millstone around the neck.

C K 123 122 Our decampment from Lawton to the little hill town of Medicine Park has done much to offset my identification with Lawton. Informants are happy to visit with us in Medicine Park but would not do so when we were in Lawton. We have been able to keep up continuous contact

C K 124 123 with two families, fairly good contact with two others, and then there are various older people that our introductions take us to see for specific information. It is not easy to keep good contacts with a representative cross section due to the fact that our major introductions come from just two families. While neither family cares who we consort with in the other tribe they are a little careful to see that we deal with approved people in their own tribe. Ergo we know the Kiowa Christians and the Comanche peyotists which is something of an unequal situation for good comparisons.

Kinship Organization and Behavior, Settlement Patterns and Mobility

C K 601 178 602 While it is possible to trace the breakdown of the tribal and band organization and the traditional authority of the chiefs etc., it is, so far, almost impossible to gauge changes in the kinship organization. The work done in this area, however, has pointed out some differences between the Comanches and Kiowas. Unfortunately, no firm conclusions may be reached without statistical evidence which is not forthcoming.

C K 592 K 361 592 Since the settlement on individual allotments, the Comanches and Kiowas have taken the great step toward living as nuclear families. As far as I can determine, the Kiowas still live in such a manner that the members of the extended family have allotments fairly close together. Most of the Rowell, Quetone, and Horse families are located to the north of Meers. The Rowell family alone, including half siblings, is settled along the Meers to Porter Hill road. There are, of

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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C K 601 178 602 [191] Among the Kiowas and Comanches, regardless of the community (peyote or Christian), or the degree of intermarriage, certain things are held in common. Old and middle aged people retain the kinship organization as recorded by the earlier workers in this field, almost to the letter. What variations I have found are scattered and are probably due to individual variation. Within the younger groups the degree of retention would seem to be variable with the amount of the native language that is still spoken and not with the nature of the home (mixed blood, white or inter-tribal; Christian or peyote; active or inactive in Indian affairs etc.). Although the younger age groups are especially anxious not to appear "primitive" to the Whites and will not admit knowledge of the language, the kinship system, or other earlier traditions, they often as not have the knowledge and do know to a greater or lesser extent what the kinship system is. In other words, it is the extent in the change of language which most directly seems to relate to the change in the kinship system. The observed factors causing acculturation would appear to operate upon the kinship system via the language medium. For example, that a young person lives in town and works with Whites and perhaps does not identify strongly with tribal tradition, etc., is not sufficient to bring about a change in his knowledge of and conception of the kinship organization in itself. If, however, he loses his grasp of the language or he does not speak the native language with his children then the whole system may be lost to those individuals. I have made the acquaintance of several young men who are strongly identified with Indian traditions but, due to the fact that the native language was not spoken much in the home, have no knowledge of the kinship system nor have they made any attempts to learn it. I have looked into white-Indian mixed marriages and the grown children of same and find that as long as the native language can hold its own in the household the knowledge of the kinship system will be retained. In view of this one may speculate on the effect that integrated schooling in Oklahoma will have on the

C K 601 191 179 602

/page 33 continued/

C younger generations in the next few years. It would not be surprising
K that the cumulative changes in Indian way of life during the past
601 hundred years shall only be reflected in the changing kinship in one
191 lump at one time. This rather than a corresponding curve representing
197 gradual change.
602

As virtually all of the active Comanches and Kiowas are bilingual, they use English kinship terms when speaking to the Whites. As there is no serious reason for the Whites to come to grips with the tribal systems this accomodation is satisfactory whether the terms have been correctly applied or not. Thus an adequate and comparatively effortless accomodation has been made by the Indian which serves to insulate the operating kinship system from the pressures inherent in the culture contact.

C /34/Except for the aged, all the individuals I have had the oppor-
K tunity to observe are becoming more lax in adhering to prescribed be-
602 havior. In those cases where behavior patterns are performed it is
198 not taken "as seriously" as in the old days. Much of this is due to the loss of adequate sanctions as well as to the disappearance of many of the underlying cultural reasons for the traditional behavior patterns.

At first glance it appears that the Kiowas have maintained more of the traditional behavior patterns than have the Comanches.
K This may or may not be so. The Kiowas still practice (in varying de-
602 grees of laxity) mother-in-law avoidance. There is still much of the
606 old respect-avoidance between siblings of the opposite sex. But as
593 the Comanches never had these avoidances to start with (where they
198 did it was to a much lesser extent) it is difficult to determine
C changes in the Comanche behavior patterns. John Pahdoponi insists
602 that even those sibling avoidances which did exist in the past are
593 gone today. But John is predisposed to see the old order as having
198 been destroyed, and that in its entirety. The traditional Comanche allowed the brother and sister to speak face to face, to eat at the same table although not at adjacent seats and to ride together

/page 34 continued/

C (a la automobile) but not on the same seat. John maintains that this
602 no longer holds for his own children and that brothers and sisters
598 will even dance together. However, I have never seen any of his
178 children break these strictures.

C While preadolescents frequently break tabus, this is to be
K expected from the examples of indulgence afforded in the earlier days.
858 The preadolescent had not yet come of age and was not considered
178 responsible or even capable of comprehending the total network of responsibilities and strictures which he would have to follow as an adult.

C The range of recognized kin seems to have shrunken considerably
K for those younger than about 45 years. This is probably due in part
602 to the fact that the ideal marriage cannot be adhered to and the
178 resultant mix ups tend to confuse the younger generations (in its
C turn due to a less clear settlement pattern?). Claim relationships
K also seem to confuse the younger people who do not wish to be bound
608 by them. To be so bound would certainly restrict the choice of a
[582] marriage partner to the nth degree although I do not think this is
C a motivating factor in the minds of the individuals concerned. The
K young people do not make claim relatives as did their parents. On
[178] the other hand, a claim relative of the parents or grand parents who
C keeps close contact with the family will be recognized and honored
K by the young people. The practice of inheriting a claim relative
[428] after an older person's death is most often considered a great nuisance.

Factionalism

C The conflict in primitive societies coming into contact with
K technologically superior cultures, between assimilationists and tradi-
177 tionalists has been proposed elsewhere (Redfield 1953). I have been
186 attempting to determine whether this tension may be observed today and, if so, whether it can be helpful in coming to understand the factionalsim of the Plains Tribes.

30: Levy E-5 (ca. 1957) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Peyote

C K 123 Since my last report I have been able to attend one Peyote meeting and have been invited to several others which await the arrival of more clement weather. The fact that I have been to a meeting has made Peyotists more willing to discuss with me their C K 121 feelings concerning their religion. I have been interested in three questions: The present functions of the religion and its relations to other areas of life; the changes in the religion since its inception; and the relation of Peyote to earlier religious patterns. C K [123] [124] Due to the fact that I have not yet been able to observe a number of meetings at first hand I have to rely heavily on the statements of my informants.

In the minds of the Peyotists, their religion is and has C K 178 been a persecuted one. During the formative years it was attacked by the medicine men as being too White, by the Christian Indians and the Whites as being heathen and backward. Today it is attacked by C K [186] the Christians of both races as a backward cult and is regarded by the Peyotists themselves as the last area of truly Indian values and ways that is left.

C K 145 178 [178] Peyote never denied the older forms of power. It merely attempted to devise a new power which would be more effective in coping with the depressing conditions of the reservation period. What may be observed today among the Comanches is a transformation of the older forms rather than a break with them. A review of the C K 145 177 history of the religion leads me to believe in the possibility for a new interpretation of the "Christian" elements in Peyote. This shall only be done superficially in the report.

/39/Other writers have listed the traits of the cult which correspond with older forms of worship and have shown the new combinations which have been achieved in peyote. It is only important to

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

contact with the Anglo-Americans. In the latter part of the eighteen century and the early nineteenth century the Comanches had moved into an area which would roughly encompass southeastern Colorado, southwestern Kansas, central and western Oklahoma, and northern Texas. In fact, in 1834 General Leavenworth and Colonel Dodge met with a large encampment of northern Comanches about 10 miles north of Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on Chandler Creek within a mile of where Sanapia's house now stands.

Relationship to Shoshone

To gain a full appreciation of the roots of historical and contemporary Comanche society, two important phenomena must be considered—the Shoshonean basis of Comanche culture and the effects of the acquisition of the horse and the subsequent "plainsification" of this Shoshonean base culture. Since the similarities which the Comanches share with other Plains tribes are obvious, these will not be exhaustively discussed. Emphasis will be placed on those cultural traits which differentiate the Comanches from other Indian groups of the Plains and which illustrate Shoshonean influences in Comanche culture.

The physiography of the generic eastern Shoshonean habitat can be described as a Basin-Range type, an area of high, arid semidesert with sagebrush and juniper as the predominant floral cover (Kroeber 1939:798). This environment, in its relative meagerness, presented difficulties for peoples who attempted to inhabit it. Subsistence was gained mainly from gathering; seed, bulb, and root collecting; and small-game hunting in the southeastern Basin-Range area. The land could not support a large group of people in one place for any length of time. Therefore, the pattern of small nomadic bands was necessitated. There was no clan organization. Residence after marriage depended on which family had the greatest food surplus at the time. There was no bride price, and marriages were generally unstable, the partners separating at will. Fraternal wife lending occurred, as well as the customary marriage of a deceased wife's sister to the widower. No strict rules of avoidance existed.

Political organization was as rudimentary as social organization. There were no chiefs or councils. Since the old men of the various local groups had from long experience gained a great knowledge of the area, there developed a passive dominance of the aged. The Medicine man or shaman was probably the most influential individual in this culture. The tenuous nature of subsistence provided for elaboration of hunting magic and a dependence on individual and group rapport with the supernatural.

Religious Patterns

Religious patterns included a belief in a vaguely defined Great Spirit who was the fountainhead of all power but who did not interfere in human affairs. This power could be obtained by men through dreams in which a super-

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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natural patron or guardian spirit endowed the petitioner with a certain amount of power and various songs and procedures needed by the recipient to manipulate his Medicine. There was not much transfer of Medicine from individual to individual. Medicine men worked generally in a benevolent manner and received a small fee for their services. There was also a lively ghost fear and a poorly developed notion of the afterlife.

These people were without war patterns before the advent of the horse. They were raided continually by their more warlike neighbors, but they did not develop an institutionalized form of resistance.

Each local group operated in a specific hunting territory, but there were no notions of land ownership and trespassing was not punished. Their dwellings were crude, temporary brush constructions for the most part. Material possessions were also limited in complexity and amount by the rigors of the environment and the difficulties of transportation. Though the dog was present, it was not used for transportation. A family's possessions were usually carried by the women during the march. Women occupied an inferior position in the society, though they were respected for their full share in the food quest.

A Basin-Type Culture

A Basin-type culture, such as has been briefly described and which could be represented by the historic Wind River Shoshone, was the basic stock from which the Comanche sprang after acquisition of the horse and their subsequent movement onto the Plains. It is probable that these Basin people, living on the western fringes of the Plains, made periodic pedestrian hunting expeditions onto the Plains after buffalo or that they were made aware of the desirable qualities of the buffalo from contact with groups which more thoroughly exploited this beast. Shimkin (Trenholm and Cole 1964:17) suggests that the Shoshone may have roamed the Plains area many generations before finally being driven back into the shelter of the Rockies. Therefore, the Comanche advent can be seen as the appearance on the Plains of a mounted Shoshonean people. The Comanche, with the horse and therefore the ability to efficiently exploit the buffalo herds and the Plains environment, built upon culture patterns already sufficient for this type of life style—exaggerating some, modifying some, deleting others, and developing still others.

On the Plains

With these Plains nomads the laurels went to the young and the physically able, while the older people, valued for their wisdom in Shoshone society, faced an old age of declining social prestige and humiliation. And, though the Comanche lacked a pervasive political organization, the war chief, no longer the Medicine man, became the individual who could wield the most power over the most people at any one time. His authority, however, was temporary and transitory. An elderly

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes which arose among the younger men.

With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin characteristics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone culture, came into practice.

Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted, as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture. Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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The tabus which are attached to supernatural power are a major reason that a doctor may experience difficulty in his attempt to find a successor. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:165) mention this in their discussion of Comanche supernaturalism:

> Such reluctance to assume power, or particular powers, was common among the Comanches. Powers were always accompanied by tabus; tabus were onerous restrictions on the freedom of action that a Comanche male cherished. The result was an ambivalent attitude toward the possession of Medicine.

Sanapia, being aware of this, is planning to delete certain tabus from her Medicine way in order to make the acquisition of her powers more palatable to a twentieth-century Comanche. Of course, the absence of certain tabus also indicates the absence of the concomitant degree of power. Her successor will not be burdened with the food and eating tabus which Sanapia finds so cumbersome. He will also not have to be bothered with the tabu forbidding the making of direct requests. These deletions are major concessions for Sanapia, but ones which she feels are necessary if her tradition is to continue.

Sanapia's mother modified her Medicine way before transmitting it to Sanapia for much the same reasons that Sanapia is now being compelled to consider. An element which occurred in her mother's modifications, though not in Sanapia's, was the deletion of certain powers because of their lack of contemporary function. Her mother possessed many medicines and songs which were associated with the role of midwife. She told Sanapia that the delivering of infants would be taken over by white doctors in the future and, therefore, there was no reason for Sanapia to learn the skill or to be compelled to observe the tabus associated with it. To both Sanapia and her mother the primary function of an eagle doctor is his ability to cure ghost sickness[2]. The deletions in tabus and power made by Sanapia and her mother have not infringed on this specific power.

Sanapia believes that her doctoring tradition will ultimately die as the Comanches become more acculturated. She states that *puhakuts* will cease to exist when the Comanches have no more need for them. Sanapia's sensitivity, concern with function, and general pragmatic instincts make her a very sensitive barometer of the manner in which culture change is viewed and handled by a traditionally oriented Comanche. Since her opinion of herself is bound by supernatural sanctions, and not merely by elusive value structure, her reaction to culture change is much more dramatic.

Attitudes about Sanapia

The ways in which Comanches of both northern and southern affiliation and members of neighboring tribes react to Sanapia as a personality are many and

[2] "Ghost sickness," "twisted face," and "crooked mouth" are names which the Comanches, as well as other southern Plains tribes, give to a condition of facial hemiplegia, usually with concomitantly occurring constrictions of the hands and arms, which is said to result from ghost contact.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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775 753 [756] Sanapia reports that ghost sickness is sometimes called "stroke" by white men. She makes a distinction between the two and will not attempt to doctor someone with a stroke, feeling that this affliction is a white man's disease and therefore the province of white doctors. Sanapia states that persons suffering from ghost sickness exude an offensive odor which is not present in the case of stroke. The ghost-sickness victim also possesses an aura of evil, detectable by Sanapia because of her special powers, which she cannot detect in a patient suffering from [754] a stroke. The visible symptoms of the two can be very similar though. Further, certain effects of witchcraft can be almost identical to the symptomatic traits of ghost sickness; however, with witchcraft Sanapia reports that the victim's eyes do not water and he does not salivate excessively. Also, the contortions of the face and the contractions of the hands and arms usually appear in spasmodic cycles rather than as a relatively constant state of contorted paralysis as in ghost sickness.

775 753 754 756 Wallace and Hoebel (1952:174) make the following statement when discussing Comanche *puhakuts*: "Sorcery with ghost medicine is supposed to cause paralysis." As already mentioned, and as will be more fully discussed in Chapter 5, witching or sorcery by an eagle doctor, a doctor with ghost Medicine, not only causes paralysis but a type of paralysis almost identical to that which appears in ghost sickness. The conclusion seems to follow that a doctor with ghost Medicine, or power greater than ghosts, would have the ability to control the behavior of ghosts in any way that he wished, from dismissing them or their effects on living men to directing them to perform harmful acts to humans. Sanapia does not recognize the connection in the similarity in the symptom of ghost sickness and witch sickness, and she maintains that doctors with her particular powers are only able to cure the effects of the ghost's actions, but they are unable to affect the behavior of ghosts in any way, such as directing them to harm a specific individual.

Ghost Fear in the Basin and on the Plains

775 [178] In discussing the roots of Comanche culture, it was noted that a lively ghost fear was present among the Basin-Range peoples. When the Comanches moved onto the Plains, this ghost fear apparently disappeared, or, at least its prevalence greatly diminished (Kardiner 1945:84; Wallace and Hoebel 1952: 173). However, my field research has shown that at present the more traditional Comanches possess a prominent ghost-fear complex. What factors can be suggested to explain the deemphasis of ghost fear in the Comanche transition from the Basin to the Plains, and how can its reappearance in twentieth-century Comanche society be accounted for?

775 154 571 Kardiner (1945:94) suggested that ghost fear, and possibly the prevalence of witchcraft, decreased in importance in the transition from Basin to Plains because the Plains Comanches were able to release aggressions and hostility outside the primary group through the institutionalized war complex. My model Basin culture possessed no patterns of warfare through which intrasocially spawned tensions and aggression could be released in such a way that the societal

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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fabric would not be torn in the process. Because of the excessive rigors of the environment, emphasis was necessarily placed on cooperation and supportiveness among group members. Perhaps Basin culture ghost-fear beliefs acted as a means by which aggressive antisocial tendencies, stimulated in this potentially tension-ridden society, could be projected, displaced, or transferred outside the group, much as the Plains cultures could direct intragroup motivated anxiety outside the group and toward their enemies through the war complex. The Basin people, lacking warfare patterns and not being able to afford excessive intragroup aggressions or asocial behavior, were able to project their fears, anxieties, tensions, and so forth toward ghosts. This specific type of displacement target is especially effective since it exists outside the realm of living men. Ghosts inhabit another world or plane of existence. Ghosts, besides being something to hate, fear, and aggress against, can also serve to explain misfortune, illness, and those occurrences in life which possess no natural explanations. However, that the ghosts functioned mainly in Basin culture as a means of displacing intrasocially motivated aggressive impulses is strongly suggested by the effectiveness of the Comanche war complex in decreasing ghost fear. Other factors which were doubtless of significance in leading to a decrease in ghost fear among the nomadic Comanches were the highly mobile nature of Comanche society, the more favorable environment of the Plains, the ability to increase geographic distance between group members and bands, and the subsequent ability of the Comanche individual to acquire a greater degree of independence from his primary group.

The Resurgence of the Ghost Complex

The life style of the nomadic culture, as opposed to the Basin prototype, tended to place heavy emphasis on individual assertiveness, independence, aggressiveness, and physical prowess. These gross aspects of traditional Comanche personality are relevant in understanding the severity of personal and social-cultural tensions which occurred when, in the reservation and postreservation period, the Comanche individual was to a great extent denied the prerogative of expressing himself in the traditional Comanche manner. Simply stated, the dynamic, mobile, and assertive Comanche personality was suddenly penned and confined because it came in conflict with the dominant white society's concept of proper and acceptable personal expression. Traditional Comanche modes of personal expression were not only deemed of negative value by the white society but they were subject to punishment as well. Therefore, certain Comanche personality traits, perfectly acceptable and functional in a culture where aggression, for example, could be released at a distance from the group and with the group approval, were suddenly loosed within the group because of its sudden forced confinement. Add to this the emotionally defined cleavage in Comanche society based on differential acceptance rates of acculturation stimuli between bands, and the presence of a high degree of psychological and sociocultural anxiety and tension in contemporary Comanche society is understandable. The notion of ghosts and their ability to interfere in human affairs has found new vitality among twentieth-century Comanches as they

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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attempt to discover alternative methods of expressing and relieving the potentially dysfunctional emotional states which now plague them.

A further suggestion that the ghost complex among the contemporary Comanches function to relieve intrasocial tensions which have appeared as a result of the myriad influences of the acculturation situation is found in the most recent ethnographic studies of the Comanche, which were obtained by the Santa Fe group in 1933. In all the materials published as a result of this group's work, the Comanches are not mentioned as possessing a great degree of ghost fear. This feature is very obviously present today, however. Since the Comanche "capture" occurred in the late nineteenth century, it can be assumed that a relatively large proportion of the Comanche population living in 1933, at the time of the Santa Fe group's investigation, would be composed of individuals who had actually taken part in the nomandic Comanche culture. The influence of this select group on the Comanche society of the 1930s was no doubt great. Their presence probably served to prolong the existence of traditional values and world view in vital form well into the postreservation-period Comanche generation; this would include the relative absence of ghost fear. At present, however, the majority of Comanches are two to four generations removed from the time of the nomadic Comanche culture, and it is among these people that the ghost complex has found new life and meaning. If the material collected by the 1933 group is indeed correct, it would appear that Comanche's attitudes toward ghosts have developed to their present form only since the 1930s. Sanapia has volunteered the information that the incidences of ghost sickness among the Comanche have been increasing over the last thirty years.

Some of the specific social forces which have been active in Comanche society within this time span and which have no doubt contributed to the resurgence in ghost belief have already been suggested. Conflict between the values of the white and Comanche society, increased intrasocial tensions in Comanche society, and lack of a satisfactory means to displace aggressive socially disruptive forces away from the society must be counted as three major forces toward disequilibrium in Comanche society. To this list can be added racial discrimination and prejudice on the part of white society and to a certain extent on the part of Comanches. Associated with these aspects are the increasing pressures toward assimilation of the Comanche society being exercised by white society. However, while the Comanches are being persuaded that the rewards of the white life style are more desirable than those of Comanche culture, they are in most cases denied the avenues to achieve these rewards. Through all of this, the gap between core traditional Comanche values and the extinct culture upon which these values are based continue to expand, leaving many Comanches in a limbo of apathy, ambivalence, and neurotic marginality.

The contemporary Comanche's belief in ghosts serves to relieve disruptive intrasocial tensions by presenting the members of this society with a means of directing frustrations, hostility, and other emotions of a potentially dysfunctional nature, both to the individual and the group, toward a target outside the culture's boundaries. It is also significant that ghosts are outside the boundaries of white

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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578 754 561 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the nomadic Comanche culture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the 754 561 554 558 578 prestigeful activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to continue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone, this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 178 561 556 578 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the postreservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain economic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older and economically more powerful woman could more successfuly compete with a younger woman for available males.

754 178 561 844 578 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche informants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the act of witchcraft.

754 178 571 361 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Comanche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within the same band became more isloated and thus any possibility of an act which could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 178 887 888 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
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served a valuable function to the group and were therefore able to retain a certain amount of prestige. Another factor which no doubt contributed to the raising of the prestige of older Comanches and therefore to the decline in witchcraft was the influence of Christianity with its stress on respect for the aged.

The suggestions which I have offered and which I feel are necessary for an understanding of the relative insignificance of witchcraft among contemporary Comanches are all ultimately rooted in the dynamics of acculturation. Witchcraft has disappeared as an effective means of social control among Comanches as its function has become obliterated by the changes brought about by acculturation with the dominant white society. Nothing served to directly replace the institution of Comanche witchcraft. This type of institution became meaningless as the very foundations for its existence were destroyed by the acculturative phenomenon which served to augment, equalize, and temporally lengthen, through essentially economic means, the levels of social power and prestige obtainable by all Comanche individuals.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

883 177 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls 562 191 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary [123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 [122] I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation. [198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 871 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also conceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice. [171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 871 177 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork, 178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 264 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 [342] Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on platforms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with 342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
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slough and at some distance from the arbor. Brooms made from the native broom weeds tied tightly to a stick handle, brush end down, were used to sweep the arbor and cooking area scrupulously clean; and there were surprisingly few flies around the arbor. Generally shade was available, and the eating was done under the trees, away from the arbor. Wood, of course, was the fuel for the campfire.

When the time came for the really bad weather of fall, tents were pitched. Some families still had tepee poles and canvas covering for them. The buffalo-hide coverings had been gone for a long time when I arrived on the scene. The tents and tepees, together with the house, supplied the shelter needed in truly bad weather.

I have been in and around camps many times, and on occasion have even found it necessary to stay for the night. I watched the division of labor, seeking to find a clue as to who bossed whom. I never arrived at any satisfactory answers. Apparently the husband kept hands off, and the cooking area may have been out of bounds for him. At least, he stayed clear until the call for food. I never saw any of the women seek advice from the husband while the preparation of the meal was in progress.

There were exceptions, but at the home camp the husband usually corralled the horses and roped the ones to be used. Generally one of the women would come and help him harness or saddle up. Apparently the same wife helped with the horses each time. I was never aware of an order being given. When a family was in camp on the reservation for its Grass Money, the husband ordinarily cared for the horses.

At the home camp, one or two of the squaws would take a team and the wagon into the woods for the camp's wood supply. The squaws selected the down timber and chopped it into small enough pieces so that they could load it on the wagon to be hauled to camp. In one family group, this task was permanently assigned to a wife who had been so indiscreet as to give birth to a white baby. (The displeasure was not, however, visited upon the child. Not only was it treated just the same as the other children, but at times I was inclined to think it was actually the husband's favorite.)

I never saw anything to indicate that the first or oldest wife was necessarily the favorite one, nor was I able to tell which one of the women established the division of labor. A more trained observer than I might have secured more accurate information. In any event, of these things I am sure: there was a division of labor, and each wife

34: Ewers E-4 (no date) 1969 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

ARTIFACTS COLLECTED BY JEAN LOUIS BERLANDIER AMONG THE INDIAN TRIBES OF TEXAS

A small but historically important group of artifacts collected by Jean Louis Berlandier among the Indians of Texas is preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology. The French scientist made no reference to these specimens in his Indian manuscript, but a few of his original labels, written in French and in his own hand, are preserved with the collection. All but one of the artifacts are recorded as Comanche.[1]

Whether Berlandier collected these specimens during his travels in Texas as biologist for the Mexican Comisión de Límites, 1828–31, or during the succeeding two decades, while he lived in Matamoros, Mexico, just south of the Rio Grande, we do not know. Comanche war parties raided as far south as the Gulf Coast of Texas during the 1840s. William Bollaert's drawing of objects taken from a Comanche party who raided Corpus Christi in June 1844 pictures artifacts which closely resemble some of those in the Berlandier collection (see Figure 18). Although the collection can be dated no more precisely than 1828–51 (i.e. between Berlandier's arrival in Texas in 1828 and his death near Matamoros in 1851), we may consider it to be representative of Comanche Indian material culture during the second quarter of the 19th century. As such, it comprises either *the* earliest, or one of the earliest, extant collections from the largest nomadic tribe of Texas during the historic period—the Comanche.

These objects complement both Berlandier's descriptions and Lino Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors in rounding out Berlandier's unique record of the Comanche prior to 1850. Not for fully another quarter century was the

1. Artifacts from the Berlandier collection are entered in the first two catalog books of Smithsonian collections which are preserved in the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology.

[p. 167]

168 traditional Comanche culture fundamentally changed, owing to the extermination of the buffalo—their staff of life—their pacification by the U.S. Army, and their confinement to a reservation in present-day Oklahoma.

Berlandier was not the first white man to collect artifacts from the Comanche and their neighbors. As early as 1779 Governor Juan Bautista de Anza of New Mexico presented to Teodoro de Croix, Military Commander of the Internal Provinces of New Spain, the war headdresses taken from the bodies of the prominent Comanche war chief, Cuerna Verde (Green Horn), and his second in command, Jumping Eagle, after a battle on September 3, 1779, during which the Spanish decisively defeated Cuerna Verde's Comanche.[2] During the fall of 1807 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, pioneer American explorer of the Southern Plains, sent Thomas Jefferson an Apache quiver and arrows and informed the President that he had "collected a variety of curiosities of various savage tribes through which we passed."[3] Unfortunately, I have found no record of the preservation of these earlier artifacts in public or private collections.

The very great majority of Comanche specimens in the museums of this country and abroad were collected within the Reservation Period—i.e. after 1875. The earlier objects in the Berlandier collection provide a solid base for future studies of trends and developments in the history of Comanche Indian arts and crafts. Even though they number less than 20 specimens, the ones Berlandier collected range from war equipment to costume and containers; they illustrate Comanche skills in featherwork, in dressing animal hides, and in decorating tough rawhide and soft skin surfaces with painted designs and trade beads during the second quarter of the 19th century. And they show the use at that time of trade cloth, rolled metal cones, and brass tacks in decorating articles of Indian make.

Comanche Shields Figures 19–23 Plate 17

The Berlandier collection contains three fine examples of the principle defensive weapon of the Comanche—the rawhide shield—commonly made from the breast of the buffalo, where the hide was thickest. Each shield was furnished with a cover of soft skin which enclosed and protected it when not in use.

In his written description of shields Berlandier makes repeated mention of the Comanche custom of tieing small animal skins to the fronts of the shields as war medicines.[4] The shield pictured in Figure 19 still has fragments of two pocket gophers (of the family Geomyinae) tied to it. Appar-

2. Thomas, 1932, pp. 134–36, 142.

3. Jackson, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 275–76. The quiver and arrows probably were from the Lipan Apache. Two of the arrows were deposited in Peale's Museum in Philadelphia and were entered in their Accemion Book under the date May 4, 1808. (Accession Book, Peale's Museum, Dec. 4, 1804–October 1842, in Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.) These arrows were also mentioned in the Philadelphia *Aurora*, July 27, 1808.

4. See pages 54, 91, 116.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171]

54: Lwers E-4 (no date) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6
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188 y Tapia's watercolor of the Comanche man and woman.[19] Variants of this loose-fitting, poncho-like upper garment appear in Lino's watercolors of several neighboring tribes—the Lipan Apache, Tawakoni, Karankawa, and Cocos, although the Caddoan and Karankawan versions appear to be of more abbreviated form.[20]

Earlier descriptions of this type of garment in the literature suggest that it formed a part of the aboriginal costume of the women of the Southern Plains. In 1541 the Coronado expedition found the Teya women wearing "something like a sanbenitos with a fringe, which reached halfway down the thigh over the petticoat." They also found the Indian women of Sonora wearing petticoats (or skirts) of "tanned deerskin and little sanbenitos reaching half way down the body."[21] Onate noted in 1601 that in hot weather the Indian women on the plains near the Arkansas were clothed only "from the waist down."[22] Numerous references to painting and tattooing of the breasts and upper bodies by Tonkawan and Caddoan women also suggest that the poncho-like upper garment must have been commonly dispensed with in warm weather.

Nevertheless, among the Comanche this old style of skirt and poncho-like upper evolved into a skirt and blouse, laced together at the waist with buckskin thongs, before the beginning of the Reservation Period, and our earlier style is not even mentioned in Wallace and Hoebel's monographic study of the Comanche.[23] The specimen in the Berlandier Collection may be the only extant example of this earlier Comanche woman's garment.

Collar for Pet Antelope Figure 38

A collar for a pet antelope is illustrated in Figure 38. It is composed of a backing of red trade cloth to which is sewn with thread (not sinew) a strip of cloth 21 cm. long by 1.5 cm. wide, to which are sewn 62 rolled metal cones on short, individual buckskin cords. These cones made a jingling sound as they struck against each other whenever the antelope moved.

Skin Dressing Tool Figure 39

Berlandier's handwritten label, still attached to this specimen, reads in translation: "Instrument with which the Comanche Indians dress large buffalo hides." This piece (Figure 39) is a section of elk horn 27 cm. in length, which formed the handle of a woman's skin-dressing tool. The blade, of chipped stone or iron, is missing. It was fitted against the flattened inner surface of the downward-projecting head of the elk horn handle and held in place by a lashing of rawhide. Generally the lashing was applied wet, so that

19. See Plate 2.

20. See Plates 1, 13, 15, and 16.

21. Winship, 1896, pp. 507, 517. In a footnote to p. 507 the editor explains that a "sanbenito" is "a broad piece of cloth hanging before and behind" with a hole for the wearer's head.

22. Bolton, 1916, p. 258.

23. Wallace and Hoebel (1952, p. 85) describe only the later skirt and blouse in their account of Comanche women's clothing. Their field work among the Comanche was begun, however, in the 1930s. It is doubtful that even their oldest informant was born before Berlandier collected the garment described above.

A[Sánchez y Tapia's watercolors have not been reproduced for the Files--Analyst.]

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1971
N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

101

Federal
Trust Area
Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

659
161

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 659
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 427
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter.

For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache.

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each. (657)

197
175
131
173
231
178
361
311
181
703
262
175
648